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International Court of Justice

H2331 – 0002

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF COUNSEL FOR WAR CRIMES

EVIDENCE DIVISION

Date: 16 July

I certify that Document Number L-151 was introduced into evidence as Exhibit Number USA-70 in the Trial by the International Tribunal of Hermann GOERING, et al, which commenced on 20 November 1945, and that the attached photostat is a true and correct copy of the original.

Fred Niebergall

FRED NIEBERGALL
Chief, Document Control Branch

DCB-36 (102447)

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C E R T I F I C A T E

I hereby certify that the annexed document L-151 No. USA-70 is a photostat of an original document submitted in evidence by the United States Prosecution under this number. The original document has been withdrawn in accordance with Rule 10 of the International Military Tribunal, and to the best of my knowledge and belief is to be held at the National Archives, Washington D.C.

Nuremberg, 24 June 1948

Paul Joosten

PAUL A. JOOSTEN

General Secretary
International Military
Tribunal

USA 70

C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Carl R. Blumenstein, 1st Lt. , AC, Chief, Field Branch, Documentation Division, do hereby certify that the documents known as: U S A Exhibits : 59, 65, 70, 78, 265, 294, and 644 (also by the OCC designations as: L- 273, 150, 151, 292; PS- 2709 ; L- 22, 104 resp.) are photostatic copies of U.S. Department of State Dispatches, which were received by this office through normal documentary channels (as stated in the Coogan Affidavit - U S A Exhibit No. 1) from the United Nations War Crimes Commission, London, in the Fall of 1945. To the best of my knowledge the originals of these documents are held in the archives of the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

T he above mentioned documents, as such, therefore fall into the category of documentary evidence set forth in Article 21, of The Charter of the International Military Tribunal which states "... shall also take judicial notice of official documents (governmental) and reports of the United Nations.. ".

N urnberg, 8 May 1946

Carl R. Blumenstein

CARL R. BLUMENSTEIN,
1st Lt. AC,
Chief, Field Branch
Documentation Division

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No. 1267

Paris, November 23, 1937.

Subject: Visit of Ambassador Bullitt to Warsaw.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY AND THE UNDER SECRETARY

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that, in accordance with my telegram No. 1557 of November 4, 2 P.M., to the Department and the Department's telegram No. 563 of November 4, 3 P.M., to me, I left Paris, to visit Ambassador Biddle, on Saturday evening, November 13th at 6:15 P.M., arriving in Warsaw at 4:38 P.M., on November 14th. I left Warsaw at 10:20 P.M., November 17th, arriving in Berlin at 8:00 A.M., November 18th. I departed from Berlin on November 19th at 9:30 P.M., arriving in Paris at 9:55 A.M., on Saturday, November 20th.

In the course of this trip I talked with a

number

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number of statesmen and diplomats, and it has occurred to me that the Department might be interested in having more than a formal report of the dates of my journey. I append, therefore, memoranda recording portions of
1/ conversations with the following: 1. The Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Colonel Joseph Beck, Marshal Śmigły-Rydz, and other members of the Polish
2/ Government; 2. The Japanese Ambassador in Warsaw,
3/ Shuichi Sakoh; 3. The Italian Ambassador in Berlin,
4/ Bernardo Attolico; 4. Baron Konstantin von Neurath;
5/ 6/ 5. Doctor Hjalmar Schacht; 6. General Hermann Goering.

Respectfully yours,

William C. Bullitt.

List of Enclosures:

1. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and Colonel Beck, Marshal Śmigły-Rydz, and other members of the Polish Government.
2. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and the Japanese Ambassador in Warsaw.
3. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and the Italian Ambassador in Berlin.
4. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and Baron Konstantin von Neurath.
5. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and Doctor Hjalmar Schacht.
6. Memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Bullitt and General Hermann Goering.

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Enclosure No. 5 to Despatch No. of
November 23, 1937, from the Embassy at Paris.

MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMBASSADOR BULLITT AND DOCTOR HJALMAR SCHACHT.

I had a conversation with Doctor Hjalmar Schacht which was not altogether without interest. Schacht began by saying that he regretted greatly that nothing had come of his two visits to Paris in the course of which he had attempted to establish the basis for a Franco-German rapprochement. He said that he had found Blum extremely reasonable with regard to the colonial question. He then went on to speak of the absolute necessity for doing something to produce peace in Europe before the outbreak of war toward which the Continent was drifting. He prefaced his remarks by saying that he himself today was "completely without influence on that man," meaning Hitler. He seemed to regard himself as politically dead and to have small respect for "that man." He said that the one way he could see to peace was through direct negotiations between France and Germany. He did not believe that the conversations which Halifax was about to have with Hitler would lead to any considerable results. Hitler was furious with the British because he had made his one great gesture of political generosity toward the British and the British had not responded by any similar gesture. He had offered to limit the German fleet and the British had quietly pocketed this concession and

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had then made none of the corresponding gestures toward Germany that Hitler had anticipated.

Schacht said that in his opinion the best way to begin to deal with Hitler was not through political discussions but through economic discussions. Hitler was not in the least interested in economic matters. He regarded money as "filth." It was, therefore, possible to enter into negotiations with him in the economic domain without arousing his emotional antipathies and it might be possible through the conversations thus begun to lead him into arrangements in the political and military fields in which he was intensely interested.

Hitler was determined to have Austria eventually attached to Germany and to obtain at least autonomy for the Germans of Bohemia. At the present moment, he was not vitally concerned about the Polish corridor and in his (Schacht's) opinion, it might be possible to maintain the Corr dor provided Danzig were permitted to join East Prussia and provided some sort of a bridge could be built across the Corridor uniting Danzig and East Prussia with Germany.

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Enclosure No. 6 to Despatch No. 1267 of November 23, 1937, from the Embassy at Paris.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN AMBASSADOR BULLITT AND GENERAL HERMANN GOERING

I said to General Goering as soon as I met him that I should be extremely glad to have his ideas on the prospects of peace and war in Europe and that I wished he would begin by telling me what he thought of Germany's relations with France.

Goering said that there was no direct conflict whatsoever today between Germany and France. Germany had given up entirely and forever the idea of regaining Alsace-Lorraine. Germany had learned through long experience that the people of Alsace and Lorraine would inevitably be against whichever of the two countries happened to have the sovereignty over Alsace-Lorraine at the moment and would be permanently a source of discord within the country to which they were attached. Germany did not desire to have any half-loyal citizens and, therefore, had not the slightest desire for a return of Alsace-Lorraine to the German Reich.

In addition, the economic systems of France and Germany were completely complementary. It should be possible to develop to a much greater extent the exchange of all sorts of products between France and Germany.

Furthermore, the French had contributed so much to the culture of Germany and the Germans had contributed so much to the culture of France that as two civilized peoples who lived side by side they had a deep underlying

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underlying esteem for each other. Furthermore, the French and the Germans respected each other as brave soldiers and courageous peoples who were ready to die for their respective countries. In addition, the French Government had indicated that it was prepared insofar as it was concerned, to return the German colonies which had been transferred to France by the Treaty of Versailles. There was, unfortunately, the proviso that France would only take this action if Great Britain were prepared to make a similar concession.

There was, therefore, no cause of discord whatsoever in the direct relations between France and Germany to prevent the closest sort of friendship between the two countries. So far as Germany was concerned, he could say with authority that Germany today was prepared to conclude at once <u>an offensive and defensive alliance with France</u>.

The sole source of friction between Germany and France was the refusal of France to permit Germany to achieve certain vital national necessities. If France, instead of accepting a collaboration with Germany, should continue to follow a policy of building up alliances in Eastern Europe to prevent Germany from the achievement of her legitimate aims it was obvious that there would be conflict between France and Germany.

I asked Goering what aims especially he had in mind. He replied, "We are determined to join to the German Reich all Germans who are contiguous to the Reich and are divided from the great body of the German

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German race merely by the artificial barriers imposed by the Treaty of Versailles."

I asked Goering if he meant that Germany was absolutely determined to annex Austria to the Reich. He replied that this was an absolute determination of the German Government. The German Government at the present time was not pressing this matter because of certain momentary political considerations, especially in their relations with Italy; but Germany would tolerate no solution of the Austrian question other than the consolidation of Austria in the German Reich. He then added a statement which went further than any I have heard on this subject. He said, "There are schemes being pushed now for a union of Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia either with or without a Hapsburg at the head of the unit. Such a solution is absolutely inacceptable to us, and for us the conclusion of such an agreement would be an immediate casus belli. (Goering used the Latin expression casus belli. It is not a translation from the German, in which our conversation was carried on.)

I asked Goering if the German Government was as decided in its views with regard to the Germans in Bohemia as it was with regard to Austria. He replied that there could be only one final solution of this question. The Sudeten Germans must enter the German Reich as all other Germans who lived contiguous to the Reich.

I asked if the German Government might not be content if the Czech Government should accord to the Germans

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Germans of Bohemia a large measure of local autonomy while keeping them under Czech sovereignty. Goering replied that such a concession on the part of the Czechoslovak Government would lead to a temporary appeasement of the situation; but the autonomy would have to be real autonomy and such a solution would not be a final solution. There could be no final solution but the inclusion of these Germans within the Reich.

I asked Goering how he viewed the case of the Germans in other portions of Europe; notably the Germans of Transylvania. He replied that these racial groups were cut off from the main body of the German people and could not, therefore, be joined to it. All that Germany would insist upon would be that they should be treated as equals with equal rights and be permitted to retain their cultural life. The situation of the Germans in Transylvania was extremely unsatisfactory. On the other hand, the Yugoslavs had treated the Germans within their borders with such conspicuous intelligence and fairness that the leaders of the Germans of Yugoslavia had informed him recently that they had no real grievances and that they would resist to the utmost any arrangements in Europe which might envisage their return to Hungary.

Goering then added that the only other two considerable German racial groups which would lie outside the borders of the German Reich, after the Germans of Austria and Bohemia had been included, would be the Germans of the South Tyrol who were now in the hands of Italy and the Germans in Poland. He did not feel that there was a sufficient number of Germans in Italy to warrant a major war for their attachment

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to the Reich. Similarly the Germans of Poland would have to stay where they were because there were a considerable number of Poles in Germany and all that either Poland or Germany could expect would be that these minorities should be treated on each side of the border with the greatest human consideration.

Goering went on to say that the idea that Germany had any ambitions to annex the Ukraine was pure nonsense. I suggested that one of the reasons it was nonsense was that it would involve first the conquest of Poland and then the conquest of the whole of Central Europe before it could become realizable.

Goering replied that this was so and that in addition Germany had no desire to have territory in Europe except territory inhabited by Germans.

I thanked Goering for giving me such a clear expression of Germany's intentions with regard to the Continent and asked him if he would pass on to the colonial field.

Goering said that Germany's demands in the colonial field were well known. They were for a return of the German colonies which had been taken away from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany had no right to demand anything but these colonies. On the other hand, Germany had no desire to be stiff-necked about this matter. If England should not wish to return German East Africa or German Southwest Africa, for military and other reasons, Germany would make no objection if England could make an arrangement, financial or otherwise, with Portugal and Belgium for the

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the giving to Germany of Portuguese and Belgian colonies in West Africa which would compensate Germany for the loss of her East African possessions. It was idle to say that Germany could not get raw materials of great value from African colonies; for example, the Cameroons. It was entirely true that today the Cameroons had been very little developed and were producing very little, but with German intelligence and energy applied to them, they could be made to produce materials of the greatest value to Germany. The same was true of many other areas in Africa which today were undeveloped or under-developed. The essential problem for Germany was to feed and maintain her people at a decent standard of living. It was entirely clear that with the increase of population in Germany the soil now in the hands of Germany would be insufficient to maintain this increasing German population. Before the war, when barriers to international trade had been low, it had been possible for Germany to maintain herself by her great international trade. Today barriers were so high that this would soon become impossible. He hoped that there might be a reduction of such barriers and that Germany could find increasing markets for her products but she could not feel safe unless she had a colonial domain which would give her access to her own raw materials.

Goering then went on to say that he deplored greatly the present state of trade relations between Germany and the United States. The trade between the two countries was ceasing to be of any importance

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which was contrary to all reason. Indeed, Germany was almost isolated from the United States. There were certain countries with which Germany had good relations; and certain countries with which Germany had bad relations; but with the United States, Germany had no relations at all. He then asked me why I believed there was such hostility to Germany in the United States.

I replied that there were many sources of this hostility. All Americans were devoted to the ideal of democracy. There had been a democratic government in Germany, or at least the semblance of a democratic government, which had been destroyed and replaced by Nazi dictatorship. Any governing group which destroyed democracy to replace it by dictatorship would always be unpopular in the United States. Furthermore, the German Government had at the same time attacked with the utmost violence the Jews, the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church. The reaction in America among Protestants, Catholics and Jews had, therefore, been natural, immediate, and intense.

Goering then protested, saying that he was informed that people in the United States believed that the National Socialist Government was attempting to set up a heathen church in Germany. I replied that this was so. He said that it was true that within the Nazi Government there was a small group of people who desired to see a return to the Norse gods, but he could assure me that this movement was completely without importance and did not include more than one percent of the Nazi Party. So far as he, himself, was concerned, he was

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a Protestant and still attended church services. He had been to church recently on the occasion of the confirmation of his nephew. He thought that the violence of the reaction in the United States probably was due to the Jews. I replied that in some measure it was due to the Jews as was only natural, but that it was not only the Jews but all Americans who were shocked and horrified by the treatment of the Jews in Germany and that the attacks on the Catholic Church and the Protestant Church and on democracy and human freedom were factors of equal importance.

I then added that there was an additional element which was playing a certain role at the moment. It appeared that the Nazi Government was engaged in forming Nazi organizations in the United States. Neither the Government nor the people of the United States could tolerate the formation on their soil of any national group or other group directed by any foreign country. We could not permit Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini or any other dictator to organize groups of agents in the United States. If we should do so, we would soon cease to be a nation and become a mere battleground for the conflicting ambitions of foreign dictators.

Goering said that he considered this entirely reasonable and understandable and if he were an American would certainly not tolerate the slightest interference by any foreign agency in the life of the United States. The German Government had forbidden any German citizen to participate in any way in the formation of such groups. He believed that I would find that such groups were formed by American citizens of German origin. I replied that I felt quite certain

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that such groups would not be formed without the approval and desire of the German Government. Goering then said: "It is true that certain persons in our Government here believe that we should attempt to organize the Germans, especially of the Middle West, because they feel that if Germany should again become involved in war with France and England, there would come a moment when the United States might again consider entering such a war against Germany and they believe that such groups of organized Germans in the United States might throw their influence decisively against a declaration of war and might prevent the United States entering such a conflict.

I then said that I could merely remind him of two things: The first, that the organization of German groups in the United States during the late war had aroused hostility throughout the entire country against Germany. The second, a conversation which had taken place during the World War between our Ambassador to Germany, Mr. James Gerard and Zimmerman, who was Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the Reich at that time. Zimmerman had stated to Gerard that the United States could not enter the war because there were five million Germans in the United States who would prevent by force, if necessary, any such action. Mr. Gerard had replied that if there were five million Germans in the United States, there were five million and one lamp posts. Goering did not seem to get the point with absolute clarity. I, therefore, added, "and you will

understand

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understand that, if, as you have said, there are six million Germans in the United States today, who could be organized to influence the action of the United States Government, there are a great many more than six million tree limbs on which to hang them."

Goering seemed to find this remark entirely reasonable and in a more friendly and intimate tone asked, "What then can we do to improve our relations with the United States?" I replied that he had an excellent ambassador in Washington at the moment who could doubtless inform him better than I could on this subject.

I then asked Goering for his views with regard to the Far East. He said that he believed the Japanese would win the war and succeed in imposing on China precisely what they should desire to impose. I asked Goering if he knew precisely what that was. He said that he believed that the Japanese aim was to organize the Northern Provinces of China thoroughly as a base from which to attack the Soviet Union, since it was obvious that Japan would be compelled to attack the Soviet Union owing to the geographical position of Vladivostok. The Japanese desired to have Central and South China in relative chaos and impotence until they had finished with the Soviet Union.

At this point, Goering asked me why the United States had begun to build battleships for the Soviet Union. I replied that I had no information to the effect that the American Government was building battleships for the Soviet Union and I considered such a report highly improbable.

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improbable. Goering said that his information indeed was rather vague on this point.

I asked him what his views were with regard to the Soviet Union at the present time. He said that in his opinion the Red Army on the European frontier had ceased to be a serious fighting force if indeed it had ever been one. He said that the reports of the prowess of Soviet aviation in Spain were extraordinarily misleading. German officers in Spain had analyzed in detail the débris of all Soviet planes that had been shot down behind Franco's lines. They had discovered that every Soviet plane which had flown with conspicuous success in Spain had been of American manufacture. I asked him if he meant manufactured in Russia on American models. He replied in the negative, and se'd that the Russians had actually sent to Spain not planes manufactured in Russia on American models but planes every part of which had been manufactured in America. That explained the excellent performance of those particular planes. All his information was to the effect that planes actually manufactured in Russia copying American models were of such inferior workmanship that they could not compare with planes actually built in America. Furthermore, this was true with regard to all Soviet industrial products. They might turn out five thousand tractors in a year but it was extremely improbable that a single one of those tractors would be running two years after it had been put in use. Furthermore, the service of supply of the Russian Army today was in as lamentable condition

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as it had been in the time of the Czar. In the time of the Czar the Russian Armies at the front were frequently without food or munitions. The service of supply then had been controlled largely by Jews. It was still controlled largely by Jews and, if the Soviet Union should attempt to make war on the European frontier, he would expect a complete collapse of the Soviet Armies because of bad organization. He did not think that today there was the faintest chance of the Soviet Union attempting any offensive operations on the European frontier.

Goering said that he believed the Soviet Army in the Far East was better organized than the Soviet Army on the European frontier; but he felt confident that in spite of the increasing weakness of Japan, the Soviet Union would not dare to intervene in the Sino-Japanese conflict. He then said that the Japanese Army ha shown itself to be considerably weaker than expected and that the Chinese, with totally inadequate weapons, had made a very find defense due in part, he felt, to the presence of German staff officers with the Chinese armies.

Goering then said that he was surprised to learn that the United States was building battleships which could not possibly pass through the Panama Canal. I replied that I believed his statement was entirely erroneous. He said that he could not admit this; that his information was positive. The newest American battleships could not possibly go through the Panama Canal. I told him that we would have to

disagree

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disagree on this point. He then said that no matter whether we could put our new battleships through the Canal or not, we could do nothing in the Far East to interfere in any way with Japan.

I was indiscreet enough to remark that the combined American and British fleets might be powerful enough to do something although neither Great Britain nor the United States had any desire for any conflict with Japan. Goering replied, "You know that the British Fleet can not operate anywhere at the present time. It is completely pinned down by ourselves in the North Sea and by the Italians in the Mediterranean."

Goering then said that he hoped I realized there was an intense desire on the part of the German Government to develop better relations with the United States and on this note, pleasantly, our conversation ended.

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